

"Tell me, ad! De Tollers, tell, what is it we are receiving for the lives Don'te forced to Sell— In this Age of Cant and Thieving?"
Milwaukee, Wis., U. S. A., June 4, 1904.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

TEN WEEKS, TEN CENTS.
ONE YEAR FOR FIFTY CENTS.

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION.

SEVENTH YEAR, NO. 5.
WHOLE NUMBER 305



BENJAMIN HANFORD,
of New York.

With regret that the Publisher of the WEEKLY UNION LABEL, of the Marinette (Wis.) and Menomonee (Mich.) Trades Unions, have to announce to the subscribers of said Unions, that the issue of the Union Label, from this date, will be discontinued. The Social-Democratic Herald, from this date, will receive the subscription list of the Union Label, and the time expires for most of them, the managers of the Social-Democratic Herald having agreed to take over the subscription list of the Union Label on this condition.

The one subscriber of the Weekly Union Label I hereby render my thanks for favors bestowed, only regretting that I could not see my way to continue the publication.

Respectfully,
Swan Swanson.

THE EUROPEAN CONTRASTS.

L. BERGER WRITES OF ENGLAND'S DECAY THROUGH ITS WORKERS AND OF THE RISE OF THE GERMAN WORKMAN.

QUEER combination, is it? Yet not so odd if we think the matter over.

England is the land of industry and of sport. England was already the seat of commerce and industry when the other countries of Europe were still medieval. Its geographical position is especially favorable for purposes of trade. It has coal, a coast rich in harbors, and a temperate climate, not too warm nor too cold in winter. It is insular, and since the North Sea could develop its interior affairs undisturbed, could build a world empire and establish the first commercial empire in the world.

For half a generation England has decayed. In the world it now has to fight with rivals who were not considered at all a century ago. It is driven from one market to another in the world market, it has even to contend with an invasion of its own territory by foreigners. Its commerce has absolutely decreased and has even somewhat increased, but not as much as that of Germany and America. Its manufacturers have become so desperate that they want a protective tariff.

Is this relative reaction of a Germanic nation, which is capitalizing and regenerating? Why has the bold British courage, which conquered half the world, given place to the half resignation of a nation, which leaves its supremacy by destiny to younger nations? These questions have been asked in England of recent years, and have been superficially answered.

It is claimed that antiquated machines and methods of labor have remained; that in the world of business the English have not changed themselves, have not met the wants of customers, have not learned foreign languages, but have employed German clerks who have later applied their services to the capitalists of the home country, etc. And they claim that the workmen of England are as backward as the manufacturers. Their trades unions have narrowed their scope, they have resisted the introduction of all innovations, they have limited the amount of production, and this very conservatism, and they have established a system of rules for labor which has hindered their progress. Finally, they have no heart for the future, and their thoughts are bent on sport.

A statement from London on this subject has gone through the press and is as follows:

England seems to be at last aware of the disadvantages which are the consequence of the excessive fondness of the workmen for sport. It has been forgotten that the laborer in every mine, every foundry, every factory of England has a half holiday on Saturday, and that on that day, pigeon shooting and boat races take place on this or that river, to the average English workman in mine, forge, or foundry, it is the same, even if a race which he considers worth seeing is in the middle of the week. Even when the condition of industry is as bad as possible, thousands of workmen have money to visit the race tracks on Wednesday afternoon. When there is a contract between work and sport, work steps into the background, and the contract of labor may go hang. According to recent accounts, the worst in the iron and coal mines of the north. On the occasion of a great football match for a prize cup, when it was a question of the two best teams, forty out of a hundred workmen in the mines were absent without any previous notice on their part, the work could not be tended in the most important processes of firing, and the great loss of money to the potter was the consequence of the absence of the power of the match. The leaders of industry in mines and factories are now beginning to check the evil with a firm hand.

The lower classes will help if the evil comes from above. The "lower classes" as long as they have no class-consciousness, are apt pupils of the upper classes. The fondness for sport of the rich English is nothing new. A great impulse was given to it, however, by the present King of England in the time that he was Prince of Wales, a period which lasted a whole generation. He could not meddle in affairs of state, but he had no inclination for other activity. Only empty receptions were left to him. Naturally this could not fill his life, and so he turned to women and sport. He "honored" with his presence" every occasion, and in England whatever is done by personages giving place to society is fashionable. First the lords follow, then the aristocracy and then the proletariat. The English were drawn into sport by the Prince of Wales, and now the consequences are there: So sport was limited to the upper classes, it might pass, since they were rich in any case, and it makes no difference what they do—when it reached the people who must provide bread and butter not for themselves, but also for the "noble" sportsmen, then sport became a public danger. At present English labor papers and popular magazines cannot exist unless they have whole pages devoted to sports. And one thing is certain: The English workmen will not be deprived of their sports, even should the propertied classes want to restrain them.

This is the condition in England today.

Take Germany as a contrast. A poor, backward country, eaten up by princes, bishops, junkers and soldiers, weakened by centuries of wars with eastern barbarians, then by the thirty years of religious wars, the dynasty was up to the present time, divided for centuries, and driven England out of several fields, and has become an industrial and commercial power of the first rank. Why? Because the English studied, while the English were pursuing sports. But while the English were pursuing sports, the German workmen were working. They would not have won the industrial market of the world, if it were not for the fact that they have a mass of workmen like the English, who through much sport would have become unfit for the methods of labor, as well as for Socialism. The British can congratulate themselves that they have practically no movement to deal with, they have no old age pensions to pay, no fear, but the price England pays for this is high. If they could so demoralize its laboring class as the higher classes in Germany have done—as we all know, Kaiser Wilhelm imitates his father in this respect—it would be bad for the German industry.

There is no longer any danger of this. The working masses of England, allied with the spirit of Social-Democracy, will not become demoralized in the English sense of the word.

General may be drawn from this for the United States. Will they follow the path of England or Germany? As far as the native Americans are concerned, the direction was toward England. We name only the golf and other sports crazes. But that is rapidly changing. The German and other European continental, who are not in sport, have performed a mission here and are still performing it. They contend against the overbalancing of the "sport" in our working population by spreading its antidote. So that they are involuntarily performing a great service to the American capitalists of the future, but an infinitely more important one to the working class and the future of our nation.

Victor L. Berger.

The capitalistic newspapers spoke of the "silent homage" that the people paid to the memory of Senator Quay. Silent homage is certainly a handy thing when such a man dies, for if the "homage" were to be vocal it would have an embarrassing task to find something good to say of such a notorious rascal.

The John Cramer library in Chicago is said to have the best collection of works on the labor movement and Socialism to be found in the United States. The library some time ago purchased the Ely collection. It has received the collection of the late Henry D. Lloyd which took a lifetime to collect, and recently it has purchased an European collection of 30,000 volumes.

A Milwaukee principal has written to Washington to ask for some of the regiments and equipment rendered useless to the government by reason of a recent change in the army regulations, and a reply has been had from Senator Quarles that as soon as possible the request will be honored from the government's obsolete store. Now why should school boys be put through military drill? They are in school to learn; is the military drill to teach them to love the murder in gross that is glossed over by the pretense of patriotism and called war? Why should the public school system seek to implant in the breasts of the youth of Milwaukee the desire to kill, for the love of soldiering implies the desire to put it into practice, and that means murder for someone. A love of soldiering is not in the interests of patriotism. The interest of patriotism requires that this nation get into no wars because of the love of war, and the more reluctant our people are to go to war the better for the country. We are geographically situated so that warring is not necessary, save in self defense and in a defensive fight this nation would have no trouble to protect itself. So that when it is sought to implant military ambitions in our youth in the public schools, those whose purpose or abet it are simply enemies of society, however they may be in accord with the morals of our corrupted capitalistic age.

It is a lucky thing Ringling's circus didn't strike Milwaukee last Tuesday instead of week after next, else the council would have had opposition in the hippodrome business.

Inventor Edison's claim that there is crookedness in connection with the patent office may mean another government investigation. Simply the working out of a bad system.

The following cowardly and malicious lie as to Debs is going the rounds of the country capitalist press:

"The laboring man is not ground under the heel of the monopoly as much as he was. Powderly has a good government job; Debs now gets \$10,000 a year as a railroad official; Sargent is Commissioner of Immigration, and Coxie who marched his rag-tag army to Washington ten years ago is president of a steel company which has borrowed \$500,000 on mortgage."

The idea of Debs drawing pay from a railroad is too absurd.

Judge Dick, a Wisconsin circuit judge, has decided that union men have the right to "combine and work together in whatsoever way they may believe will increase their earnings, shorten their hours of labor, lessen their labor, or better their condition, and it is for them to say whether they will work at all and how they will work. And they can do so as individuals, or as organizations, or as unions." The decision was rendered in a case of the Malleable Iron Range company against the Metal Polishers' union. Further he said, "Labor unions, when lawfully conducted to promote the welfare of individual members, are not only commendable, but should be encouraged." It is rare in these days of unrestrained capitalistic morality to find a judge strong enough to admit that the workers have the same right of combination that the employers exercise. As the Wisconsin supreme court is largely made up of ex-corporation attorneys, and men with large capitalistic interests, it is probable that it will be beseeched to reverse Judge Dick's ruling.

How much do you want Socialism? Enough to join the party?

Debs' dates for the next few days are: Gladstone, Mich., June 1; Hancock, Mich., June 2; Lake Linden, Mich., 3; Larion, Mich., 4; Calumet, Mich., 5.

Free speech seems to be in danger of constant assassination in the home of its friends. Comrade Sol. Fieldman was arrested last week for speaking on the streets of New Haven, Conn. The complaint alleged that he obstructed traffic on the street. He was fined and when he tried street speaking a few days later was again arrested and fined the full limit. He refused to pay the fine and said he would expect the city to support his family while he was illegally deprived of his liberty, to which the judge replied: "You will have to apply to the board of charities and corrections for that." Fieldman will spend one month in jail. The affair has stirred up the working people of the city and they will continue to insist on the right of free speech guaranteed by the constitution and by the Connecticut Declaration of Rights.

Nature works ages to produce iron, while a mere fall of the thermometer enables it to produce ice in almost the twinkling of an eye. Compared to the cost of the gathering of ice the mining of iron is a very expensive undertaking, yet in the city of Milwaukee, pound for pound ice now costs more than iron! Cause: a combination of the dealers following a very savage ice war, and the consequent hold-up of the defenseless people. More than this the consolidated company gives short weight and to those who object the men make the statement that their boss says the people can go to hell if they do not like it.

A movement is now being pushed by the Social-Democrats to have the city establish a municipal ice plant, but of course it must run the gauntlet of legal objections and it may finally require legislative sanction before it can be pushed to success. Ice is as necessary in summer as coal is in winter and if the high prices keep up it may develop into an emergency health measure.

Lese Majestie in the Milwaukee City Council!

Whom the Gods would Destroy they First Make Mad! — Tries to Muzzle the Socialist Press. Milwaukee Capitalist Aldermen do not want to be Watched, and Vote down the Night Session Proposition.

[The following composite of the reports in the daily press will give our readers an idea of what took place at the stormy session of the Milwaukee city council at its last meeting.]

"Ald. Frederic Heath (Social-Dem.) of the Tenth ward was censured and criticised by the common council yesterday because of an article which appeared in the Social-Democratic Herald.

The resolution was passed after one of the bitterest debates heard in the council for years. Personalities frequently were indulged in and aldermen were not at all backward in speaking of the shortcomings of other members of the council.

Matters were interesting from the tap to the gavel. Ald. Stiglbauer rose to a question of personal privilege and read an editorial from the Social-Democratic Herald, of which Ald. Heath is editor, in which it was asserted that the aldermen who voted for the report of the majority of the finance committee regarding the appropriation of the permanent improvement fund did so from ulterior motives. The editorial was headed, "Watch Your Aldermen," and stated that those who voted for a less amount for the permanent improvement of their wards than it was possible for them to obtain, or who, in other words, did not favor the minority report on the appropriation of the fund, were working for their own pockets and not for their constituents.

Ald. Stiglbauer was angry about the editorial. There could be no doubt of that from his tones as he read the article complained of. Ald. Heath sat unruffled and smiling as it was read, and when at the conclusion of the reading Ald. Stiglbauer asked him if he were the editor of the paper he said quietly that he was.

"The acts of the members of this body are rightfully subject to criticism," said Ald. Stiglbauer. "This article, however, is more than criticism. It is an unwarranted, unmanly, false and malicious attack on the integrity of members of this council, and I, for one, demand from Mr. Heath an apology and an explanation."

Ald. Seidel (Social-Dem.) raised the point of order that Mr. Heath's article was not written by him in his capacity as alderman, and was not subject to review by the council, but he was overruled. Mr. Heath was advised by the chair that he need not explain unless he so desired, and declined to make any explanation.

President Corcoran said that he did not know what committee it should be referred to. Ald. Albert J. Welch (Social-Dem.) of the Tenth ward suggested a committee on lese majestie. Stiglbauer demanded immediate action. The rules were suspended by a vote of 36 to 9, the Social-Democrats standing alone against it.

Ald. Seidel again broke into the discussion.

"What is the use of this," he said. "You fellows will vote us down as you always have. You never give us a chance to discuss or argue with you. You are the majority that fixed up that majority report of the finance committee. But you are up against it. You will have to answer for it some time, even if you vote against it now."

A wrangle ensued in which Ald. Wittig, Melms (Social-Dem.), Seidel and Mallory all took a hand, and through it all the cause of the trouble sat blandly smiling and apparently well pleased at the controversy. Ald. Seidel finally moved that the resolution lie over for two weeks, but this was defeated by a straight party vote of 36 to 9.

The resolution finally was passed, after more debate, the vote being 36 to 9.

The majority report of the finance committee providing for an appropriation of the permanent improvement fund then came up for action. It was the distribution of this fund of \$100,000 which called forth a minority report from Ald. Heath and which led to his editorial utterances in the Social-Democratic Herald.

A heated controversy ensued on this matter, in which the Social-Democratic aldermen declared that the aldermen had been "made monkeys of" by coming before the finance committee to make suggestions as to their appropriation when the whole thing had been cut and dried.

Ald. George B. McKinley of the Seventh ward, Ald. Henry Barry of the Sixth ward, Ald. Peter Barry of the Seventh ward, Ald. Heath, Ald. E. A. Wittig of the Second ward, Ald. E. T. Melms of the Eleventh ward and Ald. Stiglbauer entered into a debate that rivaled that on the previous question.

"The downtown wards where the capitalists and aristocrats live got the big end of it all," declared Ald. Seidel.

"The whole thing was a slant," averred Ald. Melms excitedly.

"I want to go on record as being opposed to what is nothing more or less than a farce. Why did not the committee, after receiving the aldermen's requests, consider the matter for two weeks? I cannot see how any alderman can vote for his ward's interest by voting for less money for it."

Ald. Stiglbauer said that Ald. Heath did not make a suggestion in the committee meeting, and that he did not mention his minority report until the majority report had been read before the council.

Ald. Seidel took the floor and found fault with the condition of the First ward on Brady street, and Ald. Becker retaliated by telling the alderman from the Twentieth to attend to his own ward.

"You talk like a crazy man," said the youthful solon from the First, as he took his seat.

Ald. Stiglbauer declared that the minority report bore "the earmarks of the executive committee of the Social-Democrats which got it up for political effect."

"The Social-Democratic committee has tried to come in here and run this council," he said. "You can't come in here and bulldoze and bluff us."

Heath's Position is Vindicated.

Ald. Barry, Democrat, from the Seventh, insisted that the slate was made up in advance and that it was railroaded through regardless of what the various aldermen claimed as their urgent needs.

Ald. Heath attested that charge and referred to the appropriation for the Second ward. He said that ward was a disgrace to the city, but still Ald. Wittig would not vote for money with which to improve his streets when he had a chance to.

"The appropriation in the committee was a farce," he said. "I kicked up a disturbance in the committee. As for the condition of the Second ward, it is a disgrace."

Ald. Wittig began to boil, but he had to wait until Ald. Smith finished an explanation that the appropriation was made up according to plans drawn up by the board of public works. Then the Second ward aldermen demanded an explanation of Ald. Heath. Ald. Seidel again spoke. He said that the majority report was as straight as a woman's curl after she had finished using the curling iron. The vote then was put. Ald. W. J. Cary of the Seventeenth ward explained that he voted against the appropriation because he had been petitioned to do so by

PLEASE THE MASTERS.

EUGENE V. DEBS' REJOINER TO JOHN MITCHELL'S LETTER IN A RECENT HERALD.

THE brief article I had in the "HERALD" of April 9th in reference to the wage reduction forced upon the coal miners by the mine owners, assisted by the national officers of the United Mine Workers, has not been ignored as Mr. Mitchell said it would be when it was first brought to his attention. It required Mr. Mitchell to summon the aid of his colleagues, six weeks of time and several columns of space to point out the "misstatements," and so hopeless did they find the task that they had to confess failure in vulgar resort to personal detraction.

The alleged reply consists wholly of words. From first to last it is a quibble over minor points. Every material fact is evaded; every irrelevant detail is brought out and made to do duty in the circular procession.

The essential truth of my statement has not and will not be denied. It can not be answered by personal abuse, nor extinguished by a deluge of meaningless words.

Suppose I were foolish enough to pose as a "martyr" what has that to do with the case? Does it alter the fact that Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lewis used all the power of their official positions to help the operators reduce the wages of the miners, and this after Mr. Mitchell had proved conclusively that the reduction was "unwarranted" and after he had declared he would never consent to it?

Never mind about the "diseased imagination," the "crucified martyr" and the particular hour of adjournment; is the above statement true or is it false?

Mr. Mitchell virtually admits it and his explanation places him in the attitude of a general on a field of battle, first assuring his soldiers that their cause is just and that they must face the enemy like men and then, on the eve of the fight, turning about and saying to the same soldiers who had so lustily cheered him: "I have been in conference with the general on the other side and he has convinced me that we are taking desperate chances of being whipped and so I advise that you accept the terms of the enemy and retreat from the field without a fight."

As to the personal insinuations which are supposed to serve where facts fail, I regret as much as Mr. Mitchell seems to enjoy the meagreness of my service to the working class, but little as that service may amount to, I have the satisfaction of knowing that it is not of a quality to inspire the capitalist press to convince me that I am the greatest labor leader on earth.

And little as I may claim, as compared with Mr. Mitchell, there is yet enough to include an almost fatal stroke, sustained on a public highway, the only place allowed me under a federal injunction, while rallying a body of coal miners to unite in the fight for an increase of wages and join the United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Mitchell claims that I accused him of dishonesty. I deny it. No such charge was made by me. I am concerned with acts and facts and not with motives. Mr. Mitchell's honesty is not in question. Let that be conceded. Results remain the same.

Now what are the questions in controversy?

First—In my article of April 9th I incorporated a press dispatch sent out by the Pittsburgh Post on March 6th, saying that it, the Post, had it upon the "best authority" that there would be no strike, that the miners would accept the reduction and that a two years' contract would be signed.

The dispatch was sent out after the convention of miners at Indianapolis had turned down the ultimatum of the operators and a strike seemed so imminent that the press uniformly declared that "only a miracle could prevent it."

The prediction made in the dispatch came true to the letter. There was no strike, the reduction was accepted and the contract was made for two years.

The dispatch was undoubtedly sent out on the "best authority." It was true prophecy. Now the question is, who is the "best authority" as to whether the miners will strike or not? Did the Post speak upon such authority? The outcome verifies it. Again, did the Post have such authority, or did it lie? The Post is friendly to Mr. Mitchell, will he say it lied? Will he have the Post name its "best authority"?

I inferred that the Post's "best authority" was Mr. F. L. Robbins, leader of the mine owners, who lives at Pittsburgh, where the Post is published, and I then asked, "Did Robbins, leader of the operators, have an understanding with Mitchell, president of the miners," and I answered, "It must be admitted that it looks that way."

This is the point that excites the wrath of the union officials. I now repeat it. To me it looks that way. I cannot avoid that conclusion.

The only error I made was in the date of adjournment. The convention adjourned March 7th, not the 5th. Upon this point I stand corrected, but it is wholly immaterial. The convention refused the ultimatum of the operators on the 5th, the press reports saying "the vote was cast in the face of the opposition of President Mitchell and the other national officers." Next day the Post sent out its prophetic dispatch. That is the point at issue, THE ACTION OF THE CONVENTION AND THE POST'S PROPHETIC ANNOUNCEMENT NEXT DAY. The date of adjournment does not alter the fact in the smallest degree.

"But," says Mr. Mitchell, "Mr. Robbins had not returned to Pittsburgh and therefore could not have given the Post the information—that disposes of the 'misstatement.'" Not quite. The Post had a representative at Indianapolis and there are telegraph wires between there and Pittsburgh.

When I said that in my opinion there was an "understanding" between Robbins and Mitchell I simply meant what I said. The men are on friendly personal terms. There is nothing wrong about that. When "they shook hands in the presence of the delegates and engaged in earnest conversation and were loudly applauded by the convention," there was no objection to that.

But the miners voted down the operators in spite of Mitchell's protest. That is a fact, is it not?

And when the operators were voted down, Mitchell and the national officers of the union appealed to the referendum.

Would they have resorted to the referendum if the delegates had voted to accept instead of rejecting the reduction?

The national officers also had themselves authorized by the delegates to "explain the situation" to the local unions in sending out the vote and this "explanation" took every form that could be devised to whip the rank and file into submission to the operators.

As an instance of this "explanation" the speech of Mr. Lewis at Linton was a shining success. He was given full credit by the capitalist press for having turned defeat into victory and carrying the day for the reduction and against the strike.

But to complete the evidence. When the operators were turned down by the miners' convention and a strike seemed inevitable the Pittsburgh Post coolly declared that it had it upon the "best authority" that there would be no strike, that the miners would give in; and then it went on to state precisely what the basis of final settlement would be and that the contract would be signed for two years. Less than two weeks later all these things came to pass to the very letter.

Now this "best authority" was doubtless Robbins speaking through the "returning operators" mentioned in the dispatch, who knew that the matter would go to the local unions, and had the assurance that Mitchell and the national officers would use all their influence in favor of the reduction and that with the national officers on their side the referendum vote would defeat the strike and enforce the reduction.

In other words, the operators felt certain that the union officials could and would swing the vote of the organization and the prophecy that was fulfilled was made accordingly.

But even if Mr. Mitchell gave the operators no single word of assurance, his actions and utterances were sufficient and the fact remains unchanged. They knew his position and counted on his influence and he did not disappoint them.

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued on page 4)

NOTE: Although these articles are copyrighted, Mr. Benson wishes us to state that Socialist papers are not thereby stopped from reprinting selections from them. — Editor Herald.

(COPYRIGHTED.)
THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND MACHINERY A MORAL CRIME.

The private ownership of land makes the men who till land poor.

The private ownership of machinery makes the men who use machinery poor.

The private ownership of land and machinery makes a few men who neither till land nor use machinery, rich.

All of which constitutes a moral crime, from the Socialist point of view.

The Socialist point of view, however, is not the point of view of the Individualist—the gentleman who believes that all the powers of government should be devoted to developing the individual to the uttermost—who believes that one man is of more importance than all men and that a part of a thing is greater than the whole of it.

The Individualist is so concerned in creating opportunities for the One Man with which his world is peopled that he forgets that there are other men in this world and that a vast majority of them are not cunning enough, unscrupulous enough, or perhaps intelligent enough to take advantage of the opportunities that he has created for his One Man. And as a result, the ninety and nine who will not or cannot take advantage of these opportunities, are compelled to endure injustice, in order that the One Man—the Ideal Individual—may develop his opportunities to the uttermost.

So the Individualist may be depended upon to defend the private ownership of land and machinery.

The Individualist will hardly claim that he created the earth and is therefore entitled to claim the ownership of any part of it because of such creation; but he will claim that he created part of the VALUE of the earth and is at least entitled to his share of this land-value.

In like manner, he will claim that the private ownership of machinery is correct in principle. "If I make a wheelbarrow," I contend that I have a right to own it," is a terse way of expressing the belief of the Individualist in the right of individuals to own capital, as represented by either land or machinery.

Socialism does not dispute the right of the Individualist to own the wheelbarrow he has made. But it DOES dispute the right of any man to use even the wheelbarrow he has himself made to carry off the products of others. And since all wheelbarrows—if the name of so homely a vehicle may be used to represent capital—are held by their owners for no other purpose than to cart off what other men have produced, Socialism denies the moral right of individuals to own wheelbarrows—to own capital.

At first glance, this may seem to be in violent conflict with the Socialist contention that the creator of a thing is entitled to it, but Socialism always puts the rights and the welfare of all men above the rights and the welfare of any one man. Socialism denies the moral right of any individual to own capital, for the same reason that capitalism denies the right of the low-browed burglar to own the safe-cracking implements that he may have made. The burglar may have made all his tools, but capitalism denies his right to own or use them, on the ground that they cannot be used without invading the rights and appropriating the property of others.

In like manner, neither land nor machinery can be OWNED by any individual, without invading the rights of all other individuals.

Human life cannot be maintained in civilized communities without wealth, wealth cannot be produced without labor applied to land or machinery and everyone has the same natural right to produce the means of existence that he has to live.

So, whenever any individual sets up a claim to the exclusive ownership of a piece of land—the essence of "ownership" being the right to dispose of as one may see fit—he denies the right of all others to obtain the right to labor on that land when he no longer has use for it, without paying him any price for the privilege of such use.

And when an individual sets up the claim of exclusive ownership of any machine used by other men, he not only denies their right to labor at will to create the means of subsistence, but in denying this right he obtains the power to appropriate a

part of the products of those who use his machine as the price of its use.

But Socialism has other reasons for declaring the private ownership of land and machinery to be a moral crime.

One of these reasons is that the wage-system is based upon the private ownership of land and machinery.

Wherever there is private ownership of land and machinery, there will there be a wage-system.

Wherever there is no private ownership of land and machinery, there will there be no wage-system.

Wherever there is a wage-system, there will there be found a few men in whose possession are all the means of existence, while the many are unable to get access to land or machinery except upon such terms as those who hold all the land and machinery may see fit to impose.

In no place will there be found a few men in the exclusive possession of all the land and machinery unless such possession—such ownership—is profitable to them—unless such possession enables them to fix the terms upon which other men may be permitted to apply their labor to these things to obtain the means of existence.

And in no place will there be found men who cannot labor to obtain the necessities of life without obtaining permission from somebody that there will not also be found men who are in fact slaves—men who are ground between the upper and the nether millstones of their own necessities and the greed of others until there no longer remains for them such a thing as freedom. Such men are compelled to pay tribute for the privilege of living. They cannot live unless they labor, they cannot labor unless they can use land and machinery, and they cannot use land and machinery without agreeing to take only a fifth, or some other part of their products and give the rest to their "employers."

The wage-system means the paying to the man who does the work of a sum that represents only a part of the value of his product.

The wage-system means the appropriation by those who pay wages of a part of the products of others.

The wage-system means a large class of dependents and a small class upon whom they depend—a large class of opportunity-less men whose necessities compel them to work for whatever wages they can get and a small class of men profiting as a result of the necessities of their unfortunate fellows.

All these things are hostile to the ideals of Socialism, which regards freedom as something more than the right to choose between exploitation and starvation. The wage-system is based upon inequalities of opportunity: some men have opportunities that do not belong to them; others have not the opportunities that do belong to them. Those who have opportunities to spare are willing to dispose of them for a consideration, while those who have no opportunities are compelled to obtain the surplus opportunities of the others at whatever cost. Thus arises the wage-system whereby those who have opportunities to spare are enabled to live in idle luxury off the labor of those to whom they sell their surplus privileges.

Socialism would make opportunities equal among all men. It would not permit a few to hold all of the land and machinery with which the millions must work or starve, and therefore would not permit the few to exploit the millions.

But there are other reasons upon which is based the Socialist contention that the private ownership of land and machinery is a moral crime.

Next in importance, perhaps, is the fact that the private ownership of capital constantly deprives society of the services of millions of men who are unable to obtain an opportunity to labor.

In so-called "good" times, the standing army of unemployed is estimated at 2,000,000, and in times of industrial depression, the number of men out of work often reaches the 6,000,000 mark.

Society is deprived of the services of so great a body of men, not because there is nothing for them to do; not because the world has not innumerable wants that have never been filled, but for what the capitalists evidently consider the very good reason for such non-employment—the fact that there is no opportunity to permit such men to labor at a profit to the capitalists. Think of it! Millions of men, women and children suffering all the year around for the necessities of life. Millions of men eager to earn a living for themselves by supplying the wants of the others if the capitalists who own all the land and the machinery with which wealth may be produced would only give them an opportunity to labor. And this opportunity is

denied the army of unemployed merely because the products of these men, if employed, could not be sold at a figure that would afford a profit for the manufacturers. There never was an industrial depression from which the working class could not have extricated itself in three days if it could have had an opportunity to labor and exchange its products among its own members upon an honest basis. Yet in every business depression, the working class suffers untold agonies because it has committed the enormous sin of producing more goods with its labor than it can pay for with its wages, the result being inability on the capitalist's part to manufacture at a profit, since he can no longer dispose of his wares, and then—idleness for the workers who are denied the opportunity to labor to support themselves, merely because the capitalist temporarily cannot secure any profits by permitting the laborers to work.

There may come a time when 3,000,000 men or 6,000,000 men may well be permitted to remain idle in this country for months at a time. But that time will be when there shall no longer remain an unsatisfied want on the part of any person in this broad land; when everyone has every material thing that his heart can desire and there remains no incentive to the putting forth of human effort.

But at the rate things are going, with our wants increasing with our civilization, the time will never come when the desires of all the people will not furnish employment for all of the people. And, as long as there is a demand for the products of human labor, there is no legitimate excuse for the enforced idleness of any human being. Nor would there be such idleness if the working class were rid of this capitalistic Old Man of the Sea, who sits astride the neck of labor and refuses to let labor exert itself to satisfy its own wants, unless such exertion shall result in the creation of fresh profits for the capitalist. Of course, if the main purpose of creation is to keep profits rolling in upon the capitalists, why then it is unquestionable proper for the capitalists to refuse to permit the working class to satisfy its hunger by means of its labor, unless it can also satisfy the capitalists' greed for profits. But if the Socialist contention be correct that the principal reason for making shoes should be to enable others to wear shoes instead of to enable some manufacturer to make a profit upon their sale and that the only valid reason for making anything is for use and not for profit, it follows that it is a crime to deny to millions of men the right to labor, merely because the labor of such persons would not result in the creation of more profits for capitalists.

It seems to be a beneficent provision of nature, however, that the worst evils shall contain the latent germs of their own destruction—germs that need only to develop to transform the evil into good. Tyranny is bad, but there is nothing that has caused so much freedom as tyranny. We Americans are as much indebted to George the Third for our political independence as we are to George Washington, since it was the tyranny of George the Third that caused Washington to lead the revolt against English rule. In like manner, capitalism contains the germ of its own destruction in the wage-system—the system that will not permit men to labor unless others can profit from their toil, and keeps from two to six millions of men idle all the time.

In other words, the problem of the unemployed insures, in itself, the passing of capitalism and the coming of Socialism. To be more explicit:

The tendency under capitalism is to keep an increasing number of men out of employment in "good" times and to bring more closely together the terrific industrial depressions by which millions of others are thrown out of employment and misery brought to millions of homes. The introduction of machinery into production, utilizing as it has millions of horse-power of motive power, has so increased the productivity of labor that all of the laborers in the country are not needed even in the most "prosperous" times to produce all of the goods for which the laborers, who constitute the great bulk of the consuming class, can pay. For 60 years after the introduction of machinery into productive industry, millions of men were employed in the making of new machinery, but the coming of the trusts was the sign that too much machinery had been manufactured—that the capacity of the machines to produce was greater than the capacity of the people to buy the products of the machines. Of this there can be no doubt, since the organization of a trust is invariably followed by the closing of some of its constituent plants, while the smaller number of plants find no difficulty in producing sufficient quantities of goods to meet the limited demands of the public—demands that are limited by the ability of the public to pay.

What must be the result? With more than enough machinery in existence to produce all of the goods for which the people can pay, it must necessarily follow that there will be no work in the immediate future for the millions who have heretofore been engaged in the manufacture of machinery. This does not mean that no new machinery will be manufactured during the next few years—such a statement would be preposterous, but it does mean that the manufacture of machinery will, for the most part, be confined to the making of tools with which to meet new demands—like the demand for automobiles, etc.—and to the making of machinery to replace worn-out machinery. In other words, there will be no great number of new steel plants erected in the immediate future, nor will there be many new railroads built. And the lull in the production of many other kinds of machinery will be just as marked. As the population grows, there will come times when more machinery will be needed, and at such times employment will be given to labor that would otherwise be idle; but again, labor, with its great productivity, will prove to be its own executioner. The needed machinery will be produced in a few years and there will be another period of perhaps a generation in which there will be no machine-building to speak of.

When the rapidly with which population is increasing is considered, together with the fact that, aided by machinery, each individual is capable of producing much more than his wages will permit him to buy, it is plain that under capitalism and the wage-system the constant army of the unemployed must continue to grow greater and industrial depressions must become more frequent and more intense. The wages of those who work can never rise above what is demanded by those who are idle, since, generally speaking, capitalists will discharge those who are operating their machinery the moment idle men offer to operate it for less. The idle man therefore fixes the wage of the man who labors and the idle man is always eager to work, even if it be for a wage that is only sufficient to maintain him upon the lowest standard of living upon which he will consent to exist.

With wage workers toiling for wages that represent only a bare living and producing about six times as much value as they receive in the form of wages, it must inevitably follow that industry can be speeded up to its full capacity only at intervals, after each of which there must be a lull to permit the capitalists to work off their surplus stocks of goods—the goods that the wage workers produced, but could not buy with their wages. The greater the population, the greater the surplus of production over the amount that the wage-workers can buy and the more frequent the industrial depressions during which little is produced. The idle man, fixing as he does, the wage of the man who labors, it must necessarily follow that wages will be forced lower and lower as the army of the unemployed becomes greater and the increasing intensity of its sufferings makes it willing to live on a poorer scale. With an increasing number of men competing for a limited number of jobs, the necessities of the unemployed will compel them to accept lower wages or lose their jobs.

These are the tendencies of capitalism—no doubt about that: to increase the number of the unemployed; to bring industrial depressions more closely together and to reduce wages. The fact that the United States is relatively undeveloped, has, in the past, modified these symptoms to some extent, simply because the country was so remarkably rich in natural resources that even with the highest percentage of exploitation, there was still more left for the American wage worker than the European wage worker is able to wrest from his total product. But under capitalism, the American wage worker will in a comparatively short time not only reach the present depths of industrial degradation of his European brother, but he and the European will continue to go down together.

The logical outcome of capitalism is all the wealth for a few, with starvation for the masses.

Starvation means revolution.

Revolutions are of two kinds—peaceful and bloody; by the ballot and by the sword.

Either kind of a revolution will be for the destruction of capitalism and will succeed.

Socialism stands for the peaceful revolution of the labor and it bases its hopes of victory on the ability of the American people to recognize the nature of their wrongs before it is too late and apply the logical remedies.

ARE YOU READING THE ABOVE SERIES OF ARTICLES? IF NOT, WHY NOT?

(Continued from Page 1.)

Notwithstanding this more than 67,000 members of his organization, representing its highest intelligence, voted against the reduction, rejecting his advice and impeaching his leadership, and I happen to know that a large proportion of them heartily approve and are ready to stand by every statement contained in my article.

Here are a few lines just received from a member of the Miners' union: "I want to thank you for telling the truth about the settlement. The operators beat us with the help of our own officers. Six months ago a man would have been mobbed if he had said a word about Mitchell in this neighborhood. Now you can hear him condemned everywhere. You have more friends among the miners here today than John Mitchell."

"The four alleged 'misstatements' Mr. Mitchell claims to have disposed of in his attempted denial are in fact one and the same, and hinge upon the simple error in the date of adjournment which, as I have shown, is utterly inconsequential and has no bearing whatever upon the material facts of the statement which stand as wholly unimpeached as when they were first written down.

To sum up, here is substantially what I stated: That Mr. Mitchell led the miners in their conference with the operators; that he said: "This year the demands of the miners referring to the absolute run of mine basis and the present wage scale must be met or the mines will cease to produce coal;" that he demanded a uniform wage for all inside and outside labor and a 7 cent differential; that he advised his followers to stand firm; that he declared he would never yield; that the United Mine Workers would take no backward step; that the reduction proposed by the operators was unwarranted and would not be accepted; that last year's earnings of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. were \$20,000,000, showing a large increase in profits; that he and the miners were "terribly in earnest," etc., etc.

I have the reports before me and the proof that this was his attitude and these his utterances is simply overwhelming.

What next? Why, a few days later, we hear him saying to his followers: "Your national officers want you to accept this cut?"

What do you think of it, Mr. Mitchell?

Would it be possible for an enemy to place you in a more unfavorable light than you are placed by your own official words and acts?

You said all these things and did not mean them. You yielded one point and then another, after declaring you would not yield; finally when you had surrendered all your demands you declared that you would insist upon the old scale, and that you would not recede from it. But you did recede from it. You not only yielded everything you originally demanded, but you agreed to a reduction. Not only this, but you did all in your official power to enforce that reduction.

Are these facts or are they falsehoods, and if they are facts, they accord perfectly with your capitalistic philosophy that "there is no necessary conflict between capital and labor." It is only necessary for labor to have leaders with the civic federation label upon them and peacefully submit to slavery and degradation.

What right has Mr. Mitchell to talk about the capitalist press as the "paid agents of capital?" Is it not the capitalist press that has poured out its fulsome eulogy upon Mr. Mitchell and heralded him as the greatest leader of labor in all history?

It is my right, Mr. Mitchell, to arraign that press as the enemy of labor, but not your right for you are a prime favorite with that press and the class who own that press, and when you denounce it you are guilty of ingratitude to the power that largely made you what you are.

Is it a sure sign that I am trying to destroy the Miners' Union because I am opposed to the reduction of the miners' wages? Is this the best specimen of

pure and simple labor union logic these gentlemen have to offer?

What I am really trying to destroy is the mine owners' influence in the mine workers' union. To that I plead guilty and there I draw the line. The operators know it and hate me accordingly. The mine workers, most of them, do not, as you know it and they share the hatred of their masters. But I can wait. It is true that the district convention of miners, held here, denounced me; it is also true that I said in reference to such action that "labor may generally be relied upon to crucify its friends." This Mr. Mitchell is pleased to call a "whine." These words were used to characterize the action of the men who said, "We have got to denounce Debs to save ourselves right with the operators."

They understood me and this is sufficient. And mark me, Mr. Mitchell, and don't forget it, that body of miners, or their successors, will rescind those resolutions and when they are finally directed where they properly belong, you may have less occasion than you fancy you now have, even with the operators on your side, for self-congratulation.

In the meantime I have no resentment but entire sympathy for those who denounced me. They acted for their masters and simply emphasized their own wage slavery.

Mine-owner Robbins was wise when he said to the miners' delegates: "The union between the operators and miners has been a partnership for several years that I have been proud of."

There is a whole volume in that paragraph.

And there is another in the utterance of Vice President T. L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers when the strike seemed certain: "If Senator Hanna had lived there would have been no strike. His influence would have been powerful enough to force the operators to listen to reason."

What a commentary upon the United Mine Workers and its leaders!

Operator Robbins and labor leader Mitchell and his colleagues, Governor Peabody and President Gompers, David Parry and Sherman Bell all belong to the same capitalist political party that supports the same capitalist administration that assassinates eight hour and anti-injunction bills and treats labor like a galley slave.

To me it seems not only like sarcasm but positively tragic to hear Mr. Mitchell and his colleagues boast of the "great benefits" that have come to the miners and the "abetment" that things are now enjoying in face of the fact that thousands of them are totally idle, that those employed in the coal fields of Indiana today do not average above two days of work a week; that they are in debt, housed in shacks and eke out a miserable existence as the coal digging victims of wage slavery.

These miners get 35 cents for digging a ton of coal for which the people in that immediate vicinity pay \$3.50. The operators, of course, get rich; the miners, of course, stay poor. Truly, an ideal arrangement.

Small wonder that the "interstate movement" perfectly suits the operators; that the United Mine Workers under the leadership of Mitchell, Wilson and Lewis is so unsatisfactory to them that they agree to collect its dues by deducting them from the wages of the miners, without which the union would go to pieces; and this is one of the reasons why Mr. Mitchell did not dare to

break with Mr. Robbins, and why Mr. Mitchell helped Mr. Robbins to force the wage reduction upon the miners.

Mr. Mitchell has profound regard for the good will of the capitalist and great consideration for his feelings, interests and general importance, so great that he issues a proclamation to the miners of the country calling upon them to refrain from work while a capitalist is being buried, with out the remotest thought of showing such extreme respect to the memory of the dead when instead of a rich capitalist it is only a hundred and eighty poor coal diggers, stark and mutilated, blown up in a mine through the criminal negligence of the capitalist owners for whom they were digging up profits.

Mr. Mitchell sees "no necessary conflict between labor and capital." Then why the United Mine Workers? What excuse has it to exist? Its whole record is one of conflict, honorable conflict, waged under difficulties and involving hunger, rags and death, and every page of it tells in harrowing phrase of the necessary conflict between the capitalist and the wage worker, the exploiter and his victim, the master and his slave.

If there is no "necessary" conflict, why any at all? Why do not the operators raise wages, instead of lowering them? What have the miners been striking for all these years? Is it not because they have had to fight tooth and nail for every particle they have ever received? Has all this been unnecessary? Does Mr. Mitchell draw salary as President of the Mine Workers to continue this "unnecessary" conflict, or to put an end to it by letting the operators control his union and advising the miners to thankfully accept what the operators see fit to allow them?

It is doubtless because he sees no "necessary" conflict between capital and labor that Mr. Mitchell is a Republican in politics. He also claims to be a friend of President Roosevelt—and so is Sherman Bell.

Mr. Mitchell's friend Roosevelt hasn't the power as Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief of the Nation to prevent the snuffing out of the state constitution, the brutal baseness of Mother Jones, the burial alive of that real labor leader, C. H. Moyer, and the murder and mobbing of miners in Colorado by the military criminals in authority.

Grover Cleveland served the capitalists by invading the state of Illinois and Theodore Roosevelt serves them just as loyally by keeping out of Colorado.

President Roosevelt may be your friend, Mr. Mitchell, but he is not the friend of the exploited class you are supposed to stand for. He is not your friend, nor do he and I belong to the same party or stand for the same principles.

Mr. Mitchell says "there is no necessary conflict between capital and labor." I say there is no possible peace between them. Every hour of truth is at the price of slavery. This is Mr. Mitchell's fundamental error. From this all others spring and he has yet to face their consequences.

Personally, I have not the slightest feeling about the matter. There was a time when I admired and applauded Mitchell's leadership. I thought I saw the coming of a man. But alas! Little by little I have seen him to encumb to the blandishments of the plutocrats. He is today their beau ideal as a labor leader.

The man was never born who can honestly serve both capitalist and wage worker, both master and slave.

Time will tell!

There is a mass of evidence and other

matter I have had to omit. Space will not allow its use and I have already exceeded proper bounds. I have a proposition:

Messrs. Mitchell, Wilson and Lewis allude to themselves as "men who are the equals of Mr. Debs physically, morally and intellectually." Good! Now then, I want the truth and shall assume that these gentlemen want the same. There is not space in a paper for full discussion of this question, nor is such discussion satisfactory or final. I aver that the essential facts set forth in my article in the Herald of April 9th are true and can be maintained by overwhelming proof. Mr. Mitchell says there is scarcely a truthful statement in the entire article. He also says "there is no necessary conflict between capital and labor." I challenge Mr. Mitchell to meet me upon these issues before the members of his own organization, the miners of Illinois, his own state, and of Springfield, the city in which he lives. Mr. Mitchell may have both Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lewis to help him.

Let the case be presented to the miners whose union I am charged with attempting to destroy and let them render the verdict.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Have you read the Communist Manifesto? Don't all speak at once. We fear there are still a few calling themselves Socialists who have not read it. We have it in cloth at fifty cents, and in paper at ten cents.

The Herald, the Comrade, a fine picture and a book, all for \$1.25, worth \$2.00.

"Confessions of Capitalism," five cents each; thirty copies, one dollar.

BEN. KORNBERGER & BRO.,

MANUFACTURERS OF Weiss Beer, Soda and Mineral Waters

207 TWENTY-THIRD STREET, Milwaukee, Wis.

Phone 327 West.

WANTED:

That You Help Unionism by Patronizing the First Union Bakery.

ALVIN FLEISCHER,

207 FIFTH STREET, Milwaukee.

WHEN ORDERING SUITS DEMAND THIS LABEL

CUSTOM TAILORS

UNION LABEL

207 FIFTH STREET, MILWAUKEE

Teeth Extracted

ABSOLUTELY Without Pain or Danger, 25c.

New Teeth, best and most natural, \$8.00

DR. YOUNG, 412-416 Central Building, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

St. Charles Hotel, CITY HALL SQUARE, MILWAUKEE.



DRINK

Schlitz

The Beer that Made Milwaukee Famous

The main difference between good beer and bad beer is in the after-effect. You notice that pure beer, Schlitz beer, does not make you bilious. Pure beer is good for you; bad beer is unwholesome. You may be absolutely certain of its healthfulness when you drink Schlitz Beer.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Have you read the Communist Manifesto? Don't all speak at once. We fear there are still a few calling themselves Socialists who have not read it. We have it in cloth at fifty cents, and in paper at ten cents.

The Herald, the Comrade, a fine picture and a book, all for \$1.25, worth \$2.00.

"Confessions of Capitalism," five cents each; thirty copies, one dollar.

"THE NEW TIME," 1007 FIRST AVENUE, SPOKANE, WASHINGTON.

SEE THAT THIS LABEL

OUR UNION LABEL

THE ONLY ONE TO BE RECOGNIZED SHIRTS WAISTS COLLARS LEARN TO MAKE and also

THE FARMER IS RADICAL.

Points to his insecurity as the Cause.—Capitalism Prefers to Own His Land, in order to Exploit him the More.

The farmer is completely isolated from the progress of the world. He grows up in a solitude unbroken by the whirl of machinery or the clamor for bread. He never leaves his surrounding locality except for an occasional visit to some city where the shriek and satanic confusion soon drive him back to his peaceful haunts with an emphasized idea of the superiority of his own life, and the Babylon-like wickedness of the city dwellers. The solitary exceptions are no more to be taken as the criterion of the farmer's state than those of the city wage earners who own their homes in comfort and security. The farmer has not the slightest opportunity for any rational interpretation of the revolutionary trend of modern life. This is forced on the city worker through his senses. Moreover the mass of the farmers own their homes, have plenty to eat, and the clothes their surroundings call for, and think their hard work is the natural lot of man. The ministers that visit them are as much a stupid reflection of this system as they are themselves. Their politics are handed down to them ready-made by the politicians. They seldom extend further than the party name and the personality of the candidates.

This is the forty per cent mass that the revolutionist has got to hitch on to the revolution. There are those who say he can never be reached till his stomach has been touched as those of the city workers; that the greed of the dealers who handle his product to extort all possible surplus value for themselves must take all that he makes till poverty and ruin stare him in the face; that the increased aggregation of capital seeking investment must finally begin taking the land before his misery will arouse him to take refuge in a revolutionary movement.

If my memory is not at fault, Vandervelde and Simons both state that the tendency of capitalistic development is to extort more from the farmer by letting him keep the land, and that the tendency of modern intensive farming is toward the smaller, better-worked farm rather than toward the bonanza farm with its enormous acreage and expensive scientific machinery.

Marx has a few paragraphs in the latter part of the Eighteenth Brumaire, on the exploitation of the farmer, that some readers may remember. He states that the capitalist class can more efficiently extort the rent, profits and interest for

which they work society by allowing the farmer to own the land than they can by taking it from him and attaching him to it loosely and temporarily as an individual. His reasons are that the farmer will work harder when working for home and ownership, that the responsibility of expenses and taxation remains entirely with him, and that every farmer's individual interest opposes organization for collective interest much more than in merely a hiring class that could not hope to aspire to ownership.

It appears to me that in spite of various abortive tendencies, extending over the whole capitalistic period of farm production, that ultimately the law of aggregation must prevail, that the exploiting class must own all the means and machinery of production in order to operate it at the minimum of expense, with the most highly developed machinery, and in order that the worker may stand stripped and defenseless, being commanded by electric monsters to move on, going north with the harvest, west with the herd and finally into perdition and off the earth generally. The only comfort in the situation is that when he goes off the earth his stomach goes with him. The machine may have hands, but it has not the stomach, and without marks the machine and its owner stand paralyzed.

But in this period of rapid transition to cooperative industry I do not believe that every isolated primitive farm, where the corn is still planted by hand, has got to wait till the electric wave strikes it. The railroads are pushing it to the issue with hothouse leaps of natural processes.

Moreover, ignoring the logic of economic development, it has never appeared to me that the farmer's enlightenment as to the methods and aims of the Socialist movement was a difficult matter. Though he does not read radical literature he can read it when his attention is called to it. And he can be reached very readily by word of mouth. He likes to go to lectures or meetings whenever he has a chance; he enjoys talking to people. It breaks the monotony of his existence, and a new idea is a treasure to be pondered over for months. Moreover the farmer is represented by the Vendee in the French Revolution. He is instinctively inclined to be "for the government." It represents luxury, splendor, power that he dumbly feels preys upon him. Hence it is that the farmers have always swelled new movements in our country. They made the Republican party, the Greenback party, the Alliance, the Populist party, the Bryan movement, and unless the Socialists can forestall it they are going to make a government ownership movement on their heels.

The Stalwart and Halfbreed phenomenon in this state (Wisconsin) at this time is an indication of what is to follow. La Follette makes himself near to the people by advertising stringent railroad legis-

Hearst: A Freak in Capitalist Politics, and a Labor-Fooler.

Allan L. Benson, editorial writer on the Detroit Times and author of Socialism-Made Plain, the "American Merry England," now running in our columns, has written for the Times his estimate of W. R. Hearst. Comrade Benson was formerly on the staff of Hearst's New York American and knows his man. Arthur Brisbane and Charles E. Russell, editorial writers for Hearst, have lately been writing about him in the magazines, which has led Comrade Benson to give his views. We select several interesting paragraphs:

"Beginning at the time when Hearst, the boy, became Hearst, the man, both Mr. Russell and Mr. Brisbane unite in the opinion that his superior fiber is demonstrated by the fact that he avoided the tendency of the average San Francisco rich man's son to become an idler if not an inebriate. In this, I agree with them. San Francisco is a bad place in which to rear a boy born to wealth. The customs and the climate are more conducive to inebriety than to industry in the gilded youth. The names of the vanquished are numerous. Senator Fair had three sons, all friends of Hearst's,

two of whom died in their youth of alcoholism and the third, Charles, married the keeper of a notorious place while on a drunken spree and was afterwards killed in an automobile accident in France. Fair used to live at a hotel and to induce his boys to get up in the morning, he instructed the clerk to give each of them \$20 every time he appeared at the desk before 9 o'clock in the morning and called for it. Even such an inducement would not bring them out of bed before 9 o'clock more than once a week.

"Hearst took up the cause of labor. It was certainly the politest thing for him to do from the business point of view. And what he is doing now in a big way throughout the nation, is only what in those days he used to do in a smaller way in California. And now, as then, his policy of appealing to the masses gives his newspapers great circulation and increases his ability to pluck the advertisers to the same extent. Perhaps Mr. Hearst is entirely honest in his professed devotion to the working class. I have been an observer of his course toward labor for almost a dozen years and I have never yet seen him do anything in this respect that a good newspaperman looking for circulation would not do and I HAVE

seen him FAIL to do things that a man sincerely devoted to the interests of labor would have done, though at a financial loss. Mr. Hearst has yet to learn, evidently, that the constitutional rights of the Colorado miners are being violated in a manner that is without precedent in this country. He prints perfunctory dispatches occasionally, but nothing to indicate that he realizes the gravity of the situation. In this connection, it may be mentioned that Mr. Hearst is an extensive owner of mines as well as an extensive owner of newspapers.

"Mr. Hearst's employee-biographies claim that he is a modest, unassuming man. His critics deny this statement and point to the fact that his name is frequently printed more than 100 times in one issue of any of his several newspapers....

"As a newspaperman, Mr. Hearst is unquestionably a great success. As a public man, he is unquestionably a failure up to date. As a newspaperman he prints vigorous editorials to which his name is signed. As a public man he is silent in congress where, if any place in the world, a man should have the inspiration to speak and speak vigorously; and he is silent whenever he is asked to deliver a public address. On such occasions, he has never failed to have a previous engagement....

"Brisbane and Russell say he writes the editorials that bear his name. Perhaps he does. If there were any way of determining the facts, however, I should not care to wager any colossal sum on the affirmative. A man usually writes as he speaks and Hearst does not speak as his signed editorials read.

Mobbing by Proxy.

In the reasons which Gen. Bell, of Colorado, gives for his resignation may be seen the image of a general condition, which the public generally have been slow, altogether too slow, to recognize. The criminality of labor mobs could be seen by merely looking, but the criminality of employers' conspiracies could not be seen. The difference has been that labor mobs have committed their own crimes, whereas employers' conspiracies have utilized government agencies to commit their crimes for them. The Colorado case is an example. The employers' conspiracy in that state—really a land owners' conspiracy, for the power of the employers rests upon their ownership of the rich mining lands of Colorado—secured control of the governor, and the governor turned the militia into a mob acting under military orders to suppress a strike. The militia has been used as lawlessly as any labor mob could be, and far more dangerously to law and order; but its conduct has had the surface appearance of enforcing the law, and so the people were deceived. Gen. Bell has deceived them, as to that case, whether he intended to or not; but that case is typical of most cases in which the military arm of the government is used to intimidate strikers at the call of the big corporations against which they strike.—The Public.

Notice to Camden, N. J., readers. L. Juster, 17 Hudson at, Camden, N. J., is authorized to take subscriptions for this paper.

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTE: In some states the organization is known as the Socialist Party, in others as the Social Democratic Party. Where the term "local" is used it does not refer to trade union locals, but to the local body.

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

The American Labor Union tries to take up the cudgels for the impossibilists. As the impossibilists are mostly Anarchists, the Journal is getting into strange company.

Comrade John Spargo has severed his connection with The Comrade to devote his talents to other and more immediate propaganda work. We are not informed as to who will be his successor in the Comrade's editorial chair.

The charges against State Secretary Helfenstein of California by a Los Angeles Socialist have been investigated and Comrade Helfenstein fully exonerated. He was charged with irregularity in connection with the election of the state delegates to the Chicago convention.

Philip T. Post has an appreciation of the late Comrade Frederic O. MacCartney, in the current issue of the Worker. The Socialists of Plymouth county, Massachusetts, assembled at the grave of Alac-Cartney at Rockland on Memorial Day, and an address was delivered by Comrade Franklin H. Wentworth.

The Minnesota Socialists have secured Comrades Carl D. Thompson and Geo. R. Fitzpatrick as state organizers. State Secy. Nash asks the comrades to make up subscription lists to pay for halls and local advertising, the state assuming the expense for railway fares, hotel bills, speakers' salaries, correspondence, printing, etc. Such work ought to bear good fruit.

Comrades A. M. and May Wood Simons have started a study class in Socialism in Chicago for the coming winter. It is proposed to open the school on November 14 and continue it twenty weeks. On four days of each week A. M. Simons will lecture on American industrial history, Mrs. Simons will lecture on political economy and Socialism, and Ernest Untermann on biological Sociology.

To prepare for an extensive agitation in the unorganized states during the presidential campaign, National Secy. Mally has issued a circular asking such states how

much speaking they can arrange for, what can be guaranteed toward the speakers' expenses, and suggesting that four economic routes be arranged for speakers, etc. He cautions correspondents against allowing their enthusiasm to blind them as to facts concerning finances and the like. Comrades in unorganized states will do well to write Comrade Mally at once on the subject, addressing their letters to the new address of headquarters, Room 300 Boylston building, 269 Dearborn street, Chicago.

MINNESOTA.—By a recent decision of the Supreme Court of this state, the Socialist party of Minnesota has no right to the use of the word "Socialist" on the official ballot. The decision was the result of a center in the city election at St. Paul held May 3rd.

It is therefore necessary that the party proceed at once to select a new name with which to enter the campaign of 1904. The selection of this name has been left to the referendum vote of the party membership and the name so adopted will be the party designation on the official ballot.

While this state of affairs is somewhat unfortunate, still we may feel confident that it will only be temporary, and (just after the presidential election we will have a clear field.

J. E. Nash, State Secy.

The Herald is a clean paper that no one need be ashamed to hand to friend or stranger. Spread the light of Socialism. To keep it concealed is a crime.

ALL BUSINESS

Entrusted to us is treated CONFIDENTIALLY.

Citizens Trust Company
Pierces Building, Cor. City Hall Square, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

ACROSS THE HERRING POND.

Comrade J. Ramsey MacDonald of London, one of the leading workers in the British movement, has broken down and will have to submit to an operation. We wish him a speedy recovery.

The British Socialists have chalked down another victory at the polls. Comrade W. A. Phillips, candidate of the Social-Democratic Federation, has been elected to the city council of Truro, Cornwall, by a majority of 46.

The Japanese Socialist paper, Heimin Shimbun (the Commons), will not be suppressed by the Japanese government, after all. The court of appeals at Tokyo has reversed the decision of the district court on this point, and it also cut down the editor's term of imprisonment from three months to two. His offense was a criticism of the government's methods of raising war taxes.

In Berlin, Germany, on May Day, each of the six parliamentary divisions held celebrations, all of which were attended by overflowing crowds. It is estimated that fully 60,000 people were at the meetings. Vast gatherings are reported from the other big cities. In Leipzig fully 35,000 people celebrated, while in Hamburg a procession of nearly 100,000 men is reported.

Russia seems to be having a good deal more of trouble than is indicated in the war despatches. The report is that there is a good deal of insurrection throughout the tsar's domain and that it requires the utmost efforts of the press censors to keep the world in ignorance of it. Recently twenty-one workmen were brought before the court of appeals in Odessa charged with strikes and rebellion. The strike first arose in the iron and steel works, but afterward spread to the tobacco works and most of the other trades in that city. There was a good deal of violence. The soldiers were called, but the strikers pelted them with stones and finally a fire engine came to the rescue and drove the mob back with streams of water.

While the labor movement in Russia is not wholly Socialist, the

Socialists have done a big work in awakening the workers to their terrible situation. The government therefore makes a special effort to head off this propaganda and is on the watch constantly for the secret printing presses with which the party works. One was captured March 19 in the town of Nicolai, and four persons arrested, and afterward some twenty-five others. The press that was captured had been used to issue manifestos and pamphlets on the war, which were freely circulated.

NAT'L HEADQTRS. — During the third week of June, 1904, Socialists in all parts of the United States are expected to donate one half day's pay to the National Campaign Fund. This amount will be divided so as to give one third to the local, one third to the state and one third to the National Organization.

If this call receives response from all Socialists the sum realized will be sufficient to start off the national campaign in splendid style.

- Following is the corrected list of state secretaries:
- Alabama, F. X. Waldherst, 1016 S. 23rd St., Birmingham.
 - Arkansas, E. W. Perrin, 304 Coott St., Little Rock.
 - Arizona, Albert Ryan, Jerome.
 - California, Edgar B. Helfenstein, 822 W. 2nd St., Los Angeles.
 - Colorado, J. W. Martin, 420 Charles Bldg., Denver.
 - Connecticut, W. E. White, 229 Exchange St., New Haven.
 - Florida, Wm. C. Green, Orlando.
 - Illinois, Jas. S. Smith, 42 River St., Chicago.
 - Indiana, Wm. Bowlen, 134 East Wash. St., Indianapolis.
 - Iowa, J. E. Workman, Boise.
 - Iowa, J. J. Jacobson, 1129 12th St., Des Moines.
 - Kansas, Thos. Ewell, Sedgwick Bldg., Wichita.
 - Kentucky, Walter Lanfersiek, 506 Wash. Ave., Newport.
 - Louisiana, P. A. Molyneux, 372 Walnut St., New Orleans.
 - Maine, W. E. Peasey, Lewiston.
 - Massachusetts, Fred E. Irish, 699 Washington St., Boston.
 - Michigan, J. A. C. Menton, 1323 S. Saginaw St., Flint.
 - Minnesota, J. E. Nash, 45 S. 11th St., Minneapolis.
 - Missouri, T. E. Palmer, Rookery Bldg., Kansas City.
 - Montana, Wm. H. Pierce, 708 S. Main St., Butte.
 - Nebraska, J. P. Roe, 519 N. 16th St., Omaha.
 - New Hampshire, Louis Arnstein, 18 Watson St., Dover.
 - New Jersey, W. B. Killingbeck, 270 Main St., Orange.
 - New York, Henry L. Slobodin, 64 E. 4th St., New York City.
 - North Dakota, T. R. C. Crewells, Fargo.
 - Ohio, Edward Gardner, 318 Chappell St., Dayton.
 - Oklahoma, D. S. Landis, Stillwater.
 - Oregon, A. H. Axelson, 1070 Union Ave., N. Portland.
 - Pennsylvania, F. H. Slick, 1305 Arch St., Philadelphia.

South Dakota, Samuel Lovett, Aberdeen. Texas, E. B. Latham, Box 126, Gainesville. Vermont, John Anderson, 160 Sumner St., Barre. Washington, E. E. Martin, 1016 Stewart St., Seattle.

West Virginia, Ward B. Jeffers, Mendenhall. Wisconsin, Miss E. H. Thomas, 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

REMEMBER, ONE HALF DAY'S PAY DURING THE THIRD WEEK IN JUNE IS TO BE GIVEN TO THE GREAT SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN OF 1904.

William Mally, Nat'l. Secy.

A magnificent life size portrait of Eugene V. Debs, the Presidential candidate of the Socialist party, graces the cover of The Comrade for June. The issue also contains a full page half tone picture of Ben. Hanford, perhaps the most interesting article in the one by Debs, entitled "Stray Leaves from the Note Book of a Labor Agitator." A comprehensive digest of the utterances of the whole Socialist press regarding the Chicago convention will undoubtedly prove extremely valuable to every Socialist. Highly instructive will be found an article on the great Hungarian railway strike, and another one on the new Labor Cabinet of Australia. The issue has a goodly sprinkling of cartoons. Price, 10 cts. a copy.—The Comrade, 11 Cooper Square, New York.



Blatz Wiener BEER
Bottled Goodness

Milwaukee's Banner Brew

It isn't talk that counts, it's quality—Quality that stands pat at all times, for honest criticism. The unrepresented popularity of Blatz Wiener is due to its pronounced individuality—its undeniably honest flavor that always means "Blatz"—that delightful Blatz Wiener "smack" that does straight to the spot. Drink it for beer means "Blatz"—that's the only drink it. Ask for it down town. Send a case home.

ALWAYS THE SAME
SINCE 1874

BLATZ MALT-WINE
(NON-INTERFERING TONIC)
BOTTLED BY ORDER.

VAL BLATZ BREWING CO.,
P.O. 2400-MILWAUKEE.

FOR SALE.

Have Homes & Farms for sale in all parts of the city or State. Get our prices and terms—Do It Now! Money to Loan. Insurance.

E. B. PARES REALTY CO.,
602 Matthews Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis.
Cor. 3rd & Grand Ave. Phone White-8217.

ANDRAE'S SALE!

The best wheels we have in stock—wheels which used to sell for \$40, \$50 and \$60 are now going for \$20.00. Just think of it. You'll never get such another chance to buy a bicycle. We'll repair your old wheel if it needs fixing. Enameling \$1.25 up. We are selling the famous Morrow Coaster brake and a new set of spokes for only \$5.00

ANDRAE'S SALE!

\$20



\$20

ANDRAE'S SALE!

"GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR." By ROBERT BLATCHFORD, Author of "Morris England"; Editor of the London "Clarion."

The book of the day in England. Scores of ministers are preaching about it. Bishops and working men are discussing it.

Have you a religion? Then read GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR and find out what you really believe.

Have you no religion? Then read GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR and learn of the best substitute yet devised.

Net Cloth \$4.00, Paper 30 Cents, postpaid.

CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 56 Fifth Avenue, CHICAGO.

HERE YOU HAVE IT!

Here is a positive eye-opener—just the thing you have been looking for, to get at the every-day citizen who wants to read about Socialism in every-day language. You must not miss this chance.

CONFESSIONS OF CAPITALISM, BY ALLAN L. BENSON.

Mr. Benson teaches Socialism by letting the Capitalists talk. He uses their own figures to indict their system—figures they cannot dispute. Absolutely the best pamphlet for propaganda ever published in this country. It will make thousands of converts.

Single copies, 5c; Thirty, \$1.00; One hundred, \$2.75; Five hundred, \$12.50; One thousand, \$18.00.

Social-Democratic Herald,

344 SIXTH STREET, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

United Malters of North America.

This is the Union Label of the United Malters of North America.

When you are buying a FOR BEAT, either soft or still, see to it that the Union Label is on it. If a retailer has been honest in his purchase and offers to put one in a bag for you, do not patronize him. He has not any right to have the Union Label. Loose Labels in retail stores are counterfeits. Do not listen to any explanation as to why the bag has no label. The Genuine Union Label is perforated on four edges exactly like the genuine cheap. Counterfeits are sometimes perforated on three edges and sometimes on two. Key's chain lock for the counterfeits. Unperforated manufacturers' labels are in order to get rid of their scab-made bags. The John A. Sisson Co., of Chicago, is a non-union concern.

MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary,
Room 11, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.

United Malters of North America.

When you are buying a FOR BEAT, either soft or still, see to it that the Union Label is on it. If a retailer has been honest in his purchase and offers to put one in a bag for you, do not patronize him. He has not any right to have the Union Label. Loose Labels in retail stores are counterfeits. Do not listen to any explanation as to why the bag has no label. The Genuine Union Label is perforated on four edges exactly like the genuine cheap. Counterfeits are sometimes perforated on three edges and sometimes on two. Key's chain lock for the counterfeits. Unperforated manufacturers' labels are in order to get rid of their scab-made bags. The John A. Sisson Co., of Chicago, is a non-union concern.

When purchasing cigars see that this label is on the box.

Union-made Cigars.

When you are buying a FOR BEAT, either soft or still, see to it that the Union Label is on it. If a retailer has been honest in his purchase and offers to put one in a bag for you, do not patronize him. He has not any right to have the Union Label. Loose Labels in retail stores are counterfeits. Do not listen to any explanation as to why the bag has no label. The Genuine Union Label is perforated on four edges exactly like the genuine cheap. Counterfeits are sometimes perforated on three edges and sometimes on two. Key's chain lock for the counterfeits. Unperforated manufacturers' labels are in order to get rid of their scab-made bags. The John A. Sisson Co., of Chicago, is a non-union concern.

MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary,
Room 11, 11 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY THE
Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co.
 Board of Directors: E. H. Thomas, Pres.; Victor L. Berger, Vice-Pres.; Edmund T. Meins, Secretary-Treasurer; Emil Seidel, John Dierker, Sr., C. P. Dietz, A. J. Welch, Fred Brockhausen, Sr., Wm. Arnold.
 FREDERIC HEATH, Editor.
 Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.
 Entered at Milwaukee Post-office as Second-class Matter, Aug. 20, 1901.

A Small Case but a Large Principle.



Mrs. Kuhn's Double Flat.

Mr. Schultz' Backyard Home.

Shortly after the Socialist aldermen of Milwaukee were installed in office, the branch of the party in the Tenth ward ordered an investigation of the conditions that obtained in the conduct of the city ward work. Among other things discovered by the investigating committee was the fact that there was a woman of means, a Mrs. Anna Kuhn, whose name was on the ward payroll, while an old man, Louis Schultz, was doing the work. The woman was drawing the pay for the work each month and withholding fifteen dollars, or 58 cents a day, as her tribute for being the proprietress of the job. She owned a large double flat building and two lots, the latter given her by her wealthy father. On the other hand, Schultz, the man whom she was pincking, lived in a miserable back room in a forlorn old building and was having a hard time to support himself and team on the depleted pay. And this sort of thing had been going on for four years. When the aldermen refused to countenance the wrong, Mrs. Kuhn exhibited a receipt signed by Schultz giving her his team for \$150. But it transpired that Schultz, who could not read English, had been tricked into signing it, supposing it was merely a guarantee of work. The board of public works has taken sides with the woman and is in a dead-lock with the aldermen. The case is a typical one, not only of the labor-sweating that is carried on with the connivance of the capitalist city authorities, but also of the general and pervasive passion for skinning the poor and defenseless working class.

What International Socialism Demands:

1. Collective ownership of public utilities and all industries in the hands of Trusts and Combinations.
2. Democratic management of such collective industry.
3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased remuneration.
4. State and National Insurance for the workers and honorable rest for old age.
5. The inauguration of public industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
6. Education of ALL children up to the age of 18 years. No child labor.
7. Equal political and civil rights for men and women.

If you believe in the above vote with the Social-Democrats.

CHURCH CONTROL BY THE RICH.

The commercialization of the Christian religion, which has been going on these many years, has finally reached such a pass that theologians themselves are beginning to mutter against it. There were always some rebels against it in the church, but, as in various other directions, the saturating, permeating activity of business morality, has made their voices few and weak and they have been overwhelmed by the magnitude of the opposition. Under the capitalist system, too, the spreading of the gospels requires money, and class control of the church has been inevitable. And it is no very new thing either. Under feudalism the ruling class ruled the church as soon as the example set by Jesus in driving the money-changers out of the temple had been more or less spent. The economic situation could not long be held at bay. Religion lost its purely evangelical character when the question of support entered in and it became institutional, and becoming institutional fell under the control, quite naturally, of the ruling class. It has continued so ever since. The ruling class has relied on the church for its greatest security against the repudiation of its rights by the people. In other words, the people have been ruled through their faiths, and it has been a very potent, a very powerful regulator of the actions of men. Each nation was the special favorite of God. "God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives!" exclaimed Lincoln in a trying hour of this nation's life. "God reigns, and the government at St. Petersburg will triumph over its enemies," says the Tsar of all the Russians. There never was a nation in Christendom that did not justify its acts by the claim of being the special protégé of God, whether it be given out in a Thanksgiving proclamation of a politician president in a country like the United States or by the Tsar of a Russian despotism, who happens to be also the head of the national church.

And however the economic situation may change with the years, it is always the ruling class in power at the time that is also in control of the church. Under feudalism it was the royal family and the nobility. Under the capitalist system it is the later form of monarch, the capitalist, and with the especial favor of the largest capitalists, the Rockefellers, the Hannans, and so on. The dispossessed class either occupies the back pews, or is snubbed-out in a social way. A few years ago there were many complaints by the clergy that the working man remained away from the church, but it was a last stand. Mostly they have succumbed to the inevitable, have accepted the situation and submit to the dominance of the rich and the tradesman class—and choose their texts accordingly. Being in control of the commercial class, the churches must square with its morality. It takes up the brutal commercial morality of the Herbert Spencer class of philosophers and hunts for phrases in the Bible to support that morality. Thus, what church dares to say that profit, interest and rent are immoral, that the exploitation of labor is vampirism, that war is murder, that speculation is gambling and worse, that substituting charity for economic justice is an affront to the producing class, etc., etc.? Contentment with injustice has been set up as a virtue—in the interests of the capitalist class.

No less a man than Prof. Walter Rauschenbush, head of the department of church history in the Rochester Theological Seminary, a Baptist institution, has recently charged that the church is going easy on the very part of the Gospel "which our times most need." He speaks out boldly, fearlessly:

"The church has passed under the spiritual domination of the commercial and professional classes," he says. "I do not mean that they alone compose its membership; but they furnish its chief support, do its work, and their ethics and views of life determine the thought of the church more than we realize. This is not due to any wrongful attempt to make the church subservient, but rather to the fact that they are the dominant classes in all industrial nations, in literature and politics, as well as in the church. Now the stratification of society is becoming more definite in our country and the people are growing more conscious of it. The industrial conflicts make them realize how their interests diverge from those of the commercial class. As that consciousness increases, it becomes harder for the two classes to meet in the expression of Christian faith and love—in prayer-meetings, for instance. When the Christian business man is presented as a model Christian, working people are coming to look with suspicion on these samples of our Christianity. I am not justifying that, but simply stating the fact. The working people are now developing the principle and practice of solidarity, which promises to be one of the most potent ethical forces of the future, and which is essentially more Christian than the covetousness and selfishness which we regard as the indispensable basis of commerce. If this is a correct diagnosis of our condition, it is strange that the church is unable to evangelize a class alienated from it by divergent class interests and class morality. The monarchical system, so intimately connected with ancient religion has crumbled and democracy has taken its place; but the church has not broadened its ethical teaching to any great extent to meet the new duties of the citizen-kings. It still confines its ethics to the personal and family life. In industry and commerce there has been a vast increase in the production of wealth and a shifting in its distribution, but the church has furnished no adequate principles either for the distribution or the consumption of wealth. We are emerging from the era of individualism. The principle of coordination, cooperation and solidarity is being applied in ever widening areas and is gaining remarkable hold on the spirits of men. The church is applying that principle in its organization, but its message is still chiefly on the basis of individualism."

The church, he holds, is dodging the problems of modern life. On the wrong of paying wages "fixed by the hunger of the laborers and taking the surplus of their output as 'profits,' or of cornering the market in the necessities of life," it remains silent.

Prof. Rauschenbush seems to have no fear of the rich influences that have brought disaster on other churchmen and educators who have spoken out thus freely, but it is another argument in support of the position he takes that the domination of such influences has decapitated professors who have sought to speak the truth. If commercialism did not have power in the church institutions in return for its contributions, such voices would not be officially stifled.

The Rev. J. F. Slagle of Milwaukee voiced the crying need of the times last week when he said that it is "men who live not die for the country who are wanted." In an age of greed and graft the man killing hero pales into contemptuous insignificance beside the man who can be a hero of civic honesty and brotherhood. This doesn't include the honest hog or the legally cautious shark among men, and most of all it includes the man who is heroic enough to see the actual truth as to wage slavery. It is the wage system in this country that is at the bottom of all our social ills. A wage system that merely permits the workers to retain a pittance while the great wealth they call into being goes to the capitalist class, is morally an abomination and results in the fixing of class lines in society—vast riches at the one end and degrading poverty at the other. The man who sees this and "lives for his country" in putting in his strength into the warfare that is being waged to change such wrong conditions, is the kind of man on whom society must depend to bring about justice on earth and true brotherhood.

The National Socialist Platform for 1904.

(As Adopted at Chicago, May 5, 1904.)

We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the **The Defend**—only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the **of Liberty**—whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using those to betray and conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are greedily so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literature. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the felts upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of International Socialism, as embodied in the United States and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international in both organization and result. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement therefore is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the benefit of the workers, but for the benefit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalism are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or constructive force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes as the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for such successive immediate demands: interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of income, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage and municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interests, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies into the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist party. And we appeal only to what we, and the men and women whom we represent, are ready to give and have given. Our appeal for the trust and suffrage of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

One thing the capitalistic aldermen of Milwaukee better get fixed in their minds, first as well as last: The Social-Democratic aldermen do not propose to be bulldozed or intimidated. They have a mission and a sacred duty to perform in the council and no capitalistic scowls and bullying will swerve them one iota from the path of duty to bring to the constituents, the working people of this city, Ald. F. J. Stiglbauer, "Hank" Smith, "Sherry" Becker and the rest of those who tried the gag game last Tuesday, are given fair warning! Wake up! Get your acquaintances to wake up! The Social Democratic Herald is the best alarm clock. Why not give it a trial and see?

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD—BUSINESS DEPARTMENT

Address all communications, money orders, etc., to the
MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING CO.
 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee, Wis.
 Telephone Main 2394. H. W. BISTORUM, Business Manager.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—One year, 50 cents. In clubs of three, \$1.50. Six months, 25 cents. No papers sent to any one on credit. If, without having subscribed, you receive it, then it has been subscribed for by a friend and so will follow. Foreign subscriptions, \$1.00.

BUNDLE RATES.
 100 copies, more or less, per copy..... \$1.00
 200 copies or more, per 100 (delivered outside Milwaukee)..... \$1.75
 200 copies or more, per 100 (in Milwaukee only if called for)..... \$1.50

Weekly Bundles.
 Five copies, 3 months, to one address..... \$1.00
 Five copies, 3 months, to one address..... \$1.00
 Five copies, one year, to one address..... \$3.00
 Ten copies, one year, to one address..... \$5.00
 Twenty-five copies, one year, to one address..... \$12.50
 Fifty copies, one year, to one address..... \$25.00
 Advertising Rates furnished on application.
 We reserve the right to terminate any advertising contract without notice.

Receipts of Remittances for Subscriptions are acknowledged by the number on the wrapper. Separate receipts are never sent.

Our preaching to Socialists the country over, in our last two issues, urging them to renewed support of the Socialist press in its strengthening of our lines for the presidential campaign that is now on us, has met with a response that shows that the fires of Socialism still burn brightly in the breasts of the people. This week, however, we will shift our lens and focus it upon our Milwaukee readers, some of whom seem to be still resting from the big battle of April 5. Some of these, indeed, seem to have relapsed into a Rip Van Winkle slumber. Let the marouses themselves; there is hard work ahead, downright hard work for the cause that lies so near our hearts. The advance of the Spring campaign must be maintained and we must forge ahead, carrying our conquering banner to more and more of the oppressed and cowed of the population. Forward, ever forward, is the cry!

That offer of a bound volume of Karl Marx' "Capital" is still open to those who bring in ten new subscribers to The Herald. This is the book every Socialist ought to have and to study. The copy we are offering sells in the bookstores for \$1.75. Our supply is limited, as it behooves you to get to work at once.

Lese Majestie in Milwaukee.

(Continued from Page 1.)

several hundred of his constituents.
 The majority report was adopted by 32 to 12.

Ald. Heath's resolution for night sessions stirred up another unpleasantness. He presented a number of petitions from labor unions and citizens asking for night sessions. Ald. Henry Smith objected to night sessions on the ground that it would make trouble in committee work. Ald. Heath read a letter from a Chicago alderman stating that night sessions were successful in that city, and Ald. Welch and Meins insisted that the business men and wage workers should be given the opportunity to witness the council meetings.

"We want them to see what the aldermen are doing," said Ald. Welch.

"This whole thing is politics," averred Ald. Becker. "You want to fill the galleries with your people so they can hear you make a speech and then shake hands with you and tell you it was a good speech. Then we would have to have about six policemen to keep order in the gallery. This is a business proposition, and the day time is the time to transact business."

The resolution was defeated by a vote of 32 to 11. Ald. Cary and Stollenwerk voting with the Social-Democrats.

Despite the debates the council managed to transact much business. Ald. Petersen's ice plant resolution was introduced and read.

Several special privilege ordinances also were passed, the Social-Democrats voting against each. Water taxes of three charitable institutions were refunded. The chief of police was voted \$100 with which to go to the national convention of police chiefs, but the matter was laid over upon motion of Ald. Seidel. The appointment by the mayor of Henry Weber as park commissioner was also passed.

Consult Greenberg
 About your Eyesight. Satisfaction Guaranteed.
 425 Chestnut St., MILWAUKEE, WIS.

COUPON.
 Out this out and bring it to THEO. SCHELLE, 316 WEST WATER STREET, You will get something for it.

E. E. PLUM HATTER & FURNISHER
 HATS—CAPS
 GENTS' FURNISHING GOODS.
 491 Eleventh Ave. MILWAUKEE, WIS.

STREHLow & SCHAAP.
 PLAIN AND DECORATIVE PAINTING, Paperhanging and Calcimining, GRaining and HARD WOOD FINISHING.
 1265 Hopkins Ave. or 2919 Walnut St., MILWAUKEE.
 Telephone 5111 White. General Painting.
JACOB HUNGER, PRINTER.
 108 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

sioner was affirmed, the Socialist aldermen voting against it. [Weber is connected with a politician's resort which has had for years a gambling house overhead.]

Protest Against Union Label.

A remonstrance from Quarles, Spence & Quarles, on behalf of clients, against the passage of the union label ordinance was referred to the printing committee. The legal firm takes the ground that the proposed ordinance is class legislation, and says that "the alderman who introduced the ordinance (Ald. Welch) has taken an oath to administer the funds of the city for the benefit of all citizens. In spite of this fact, he seems to consider that he owes a higher duty to some voluntary organization, called a union and to the detriment of his constituents, whose interests he has sworn to protect."

The communication closes with the announcement that in the event of the passage of the ordinance it will be contested in the courts without delay.

The Day of Judgment

This is a new book by George D. Herron, revised by the author from the article in the April number of the International Socialist Review under the title of "The Social Opportunity."

It will serve as the key-note of the campaign of the Socialist Party for 1904. The author has contributed the royalty from the sale of the book to the national campaign fund.

The book is daintily printed with handsome cover and sells for ten cents; three copies 25 cents; seven copies, fifty cents; fifteen copies, \$1.00. Stockholders in our co-operative company will be supplied at the uniform price of five cents including postage or expressage, or four cents if sent at purchaser's expense. Address Charles H. Kerr & Company, 56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

Now in Demand

CALL ON US FOR
 Refrigerators - - - from \$5 to \$25
 Gas Ranges - - - from \$15 to \$45
 (Connections Free)
 Ice Cream Freezers, \$1.45 to \$15.50
 Lawn Mowers - - - \$5.45 to \$25.00
 Garden Hoes, per foot - - - 6c to 25c
 Clothes Mangles - - - \$5.00 to \$15.00
 Wringers - - - from \$1.50 to \$5.00
 Bluffton Rotary Washer - - - \$5.75
 (A High Grade Machine)
 Fishing Tackle and Other Sporting Goods, Scotch Doors and Windows.

THE RIGHT WARE at the RIGHT PRICE

Peter Paulus Hardware Co.
 207 Third and 310 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

F. TRENKAMP & CO.

MANUFACTURERS OF

Honest Soaps.

No free premiums. No cash prizes schemes in order to sell our soap. Ask for TRENKAMP'S SOAPS and you get full weight and HONEST GOODS.

Try Our Popular Brand

CLIMAX and MONITOR

IF THINE

Offered these do not get them out and out from the store, but call on

Julius Land's Optical Co.
 419 East Water Street

and get fitted for a pair of glasses.



DAVIDSON VAUDEVILLE
Matinee Daily 2-15
10c-20c-30c
MISS ARTIE HALL
The Original Georgia Girl
ROBERT FULGORA
The Great Transfiguration
Evenings 10c-20c-30c

CRYSTAL THEATER.
178 Second St., Near Grand Ave.
CONTINUOUS VAUDEVILLE.
Matinee Every Day 2 to 5. Nights 8 to 11.
A RESORT FOR LADIES, CHILDREN AND GENTLEMEN.
MOTION PICTURES.
Admission 10 cts. Including Seat.

UNION MEN!
DON'T FAIL TO ATTEND
The Monstrous Picnic and Ball!
FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CONVENTION FUND.
Arranged by the
Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of Milwaukee.
SUNDAY, JUNE 12, 1904.
PABST PARK.
Admission to Park Ten Cents.
Parade to Park will start at 1 o'clock p.m. sharp from 318 State St.

Crosby Transportation Co.
& GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY SYSTEM.
Daily at 9:30 p.m. for
GRAND HAVEN, DETROIT, MUSKOGEE, TOLEDO, GRAND RAPIDS, PORT HURON, SAGINAW, BAY CITY, and all Eastern Points.
Phone Main 894. City Office 400 East Water Street.
Docks, Foot West Water Street.

300 HIGH LINE STEAMERS
\$1.00 TO CHICAGO
ROUND TRIP \$1.50
Hot Chicago & Racine 8 p.m. daily.
For Sheboygan and Manitowish 8 a.m. daily except Monday and Saturday.
For Kenosha, Algonquin and Sturgeon Bay 8 a.m., Friday and Sunday. For Manitowish and Menominee at 8 a.m., Sunday.
Office and Docks, Foot of Sycamore Street.

Barry Line Daily to Chicago at 8 P. M.
Fare 75c. Excursions Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 5 P. M. \$1.00 Round Trip. Good for 3 days.
Office and Docks, East Water and Detroit Streets. Phone Main 521.

Wanted to Exchange.
FIRST CLASS FARM of 160 Acres, complete with all stock, three miles from Plymouth, Wisconsin, to be exchanged for Milwaukee or any other property in Wisconsin. J. O'NEIL, Plymouth, Wis.

J. Bruett & Son
Clothing, Furnishings, Hats, Caps, Gloves, Mittens, Underwear, Hosiery, Shirts, Neckwear, Etc.
Found on East Avenue, Corner Lloyd and 15th Street.

Wm. Gerhard 907 THIRD STREET

WE DON'T URGE
You to buy expensive gifts. We have hosts of exquisite things that are within reach of modest income. Give us a call.
L. Sachs
THE JEWELER,
418 National Ave.

UMBRELLAS PARASOLS
Recovering and Repairing.
S. J. PEARLMAN,
630 Third St., MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Open Day and Night
One Minute Tables for Ladies and Gents
LUNCH ROOM
Established 1892.
Formerly Technick's Restaurant.
Mrs. C. H. Henshaw, Prop.
180 Second St., bet. Grand Ave. & Wells.

H. G. UNDERWOOD,
NEW AND SOLID TOP PATENTS

Town Topics by the Town Crier.

[Not yet censored by Council!]
Ald. Becker's assault on the Socialists in the common council Tuesday was somewhat in the nature of a foursome flush.

Quarles, Spence & Quarles, the law firm that has sent in a remonstrance against the city council passing a union label ordinance, are the Milwaukee representatives of the Parry Citizens' Alliance and engaged, for pay, of course, in helping on the capitalistic crusade for the open shop. Senator Quarles is the senior member of the firm, his

150 New and Second hand Carpets.

Will be sold at Auction at our Broadway room, Saturday, June 4, commencing at 10 A. M. sharp. Also 3 Oil Paintings, an Upright Piano, an Orchestral Regina Music Box, cost \$275, a large Graphophone with 20 records, Book Cases, Extension Tables, Rockers, Easy Chairs, Parlor Suits, Dressers, Chiffoniers, Sideboards, Enamelled Beds and Springs, Couches, Ice Boxes, Mattresses, Gas and Steel Ranges, Cigars, Pictures and a lot of Silverware, Crockery and Glass ware.

KAUFER, SMITHING & CO.,
Auctioneers, 376 Broadway.

brother Charles is a notorious hater of the working class and the attorney of Charles Pfister, and Spence is known to fame as a paid lobbyist at Madison against all measures tending to raise the standard of the wage workers. How many of the printers, we wonder, helped

give Quarles a chance to get into the United States senate!

Muzzling the Socialist press is a new diversion which the capitalist aldermen in the City Council have invented, but it hasn't worked quite as well as they expected it would. The last common council was a den of crooks and if the present aldermen pursue their intimidating tactics toward the representatives sent to that body by the working people, they need not be surprised if the people of this city draw their own conclusions from it. If the last council has started out by gagging the daily and weekly press of the city, it is quite probable that there would have been no grand jury and no criminal convictions. Milwaukee to this day might have been in ignorance of the fact that she was represented officially by men liable to indictment for horse stealing and wholesale grafting.

One would have thought that Ald. Stiglauer would be the last one to call for an investigation, con-

little regard for democracy when it comes to a show-down.

When Ald. Becker was charged by one of the Social-Democratic aldermen with having said to Ald. Corcoran in the presence of witnesses that his ward, the First, was given \$2,000 more than he actually had to have in the majority apportionment, he refused to either admit or deny the fact. Instead, he launched out into some sneering remarks about the Socialists, calling one of them crazy, and later on repeated the tirade when the proposition of the Federated Trades Council for evening sessions was up. Ald. Becker was afraid the citizens would fill the galleries and be caught by the eloquence, as he put it, of the Social-Democrats. He wanted the council to meet daytime because it was a "business body," but when he mentioned that fateful word "business," some of his colleagues cast nervous glances at the few citizens who were seated in the galleries. Now there has been a good deal of dark business transacted by aldermen in the daytime. And the word "business" in connection with the Becker fortune has an ugly sound, also, when the business methods by which such fortunes are amassed are taken into account.

men who had nerve enough to represent the true interests of their wards in the vote on the "unstraight" ward fund apportionment were Ald. Cary, Meyer and Stollenwerk. The rest stood by the "gang."

THE THEATER.

DAVIDSON THEATER.
The fourth week of vaudeville at the Davidson will be headed by Artie Hall, the original Georgia Girl who has created a sensation wherever she has appeared. Miss Hall is a niece of the late Gen. Beauregard of the Confederate Army. Robert Fulgora, requiring an entire stage setting for his act, is another leading feature. He impersonates a drum major, a policeman, a market woman and several jockeys, and gives a striking representation of the capitulation of Gen. Robert E. Lee.

STAR THEATER.
The Blue Ribbon Girls Co. will appear at the Star next week. There are two dozen handsome girls in the chorus, and they will exhibit some startling novelties in the way of costumes.



The New Blue Ribbon Girls at the Star Theater.

sidering that he has been through some peculiar experiences of his own. A man who had to leave the postal service under the circumstances that he did, ought not to get reckless with the boomerang. And the insult that the Nineteenth ward intimidator launched at the citizens of his ward who had dared to petition him to vote against the cooked-up street fund apportionment of the finance committee was gratuitous—and capitalistic. It is certainly no crime for the citizens of his ward to suppose that he is their representative and that he would be glad to know their wishes on a matter vitally concerning their ward. But these professional "Dimierats" are generally found to have very

Following is the list of the misrepresentatives of the people among the aldermen who voted against the people's request for night sessions and a chance for the people to watch their representatives:

Becker, Meisenheimer, Bogz, Meyer, Braun, Pringle, Connelly, Rietz, Denster, Rittlett, Fiebrantz, Schmitt, Fitzgerald, Wittig, Hayes, Schumacher, Klaeser, Sikora, Koerner, Smith, Kuschert, Steigerwald, Lemauski, Stiglauer, Lonstorf, Stoetzer, Luedtke, Strachota, Szymanski, Malloy, Corcoran, Weimer, McKinley.

Outside of the fighting nine of the "extreme left," the only alder-



Warm weather footwear for children. Neat, durable strap slippers, in kid or patent leather, in large and complete variety. One, three or five strap; sizes 6 to 8, 75c to \$1.25; sizes 8 1/2 to 11, 90c to \$1.40; sizes 11 1/2 to 2, \$1.00 to \$1.75. The best factories make our shoes. The manufacturer's and our guarantee goes with every pair. Styles always right. Honest Prices—You can't buy wrong if you buy shoes here.

Lamers Bros. SHOES
354 GROVE ST. MILWAUKEE, WIS.

PIANOS

The Best Place to buy them is at the
Boston Store
Piano Dept.
Cor. 4th Street and Grand Avenue.
(3rd Floor.)

..BICYCLES..

We built Bicycles to order from \$20.00 up. FIRST-CLASS REPAIRING.

ENAMELING AND PLATING A SPECIALTY. ALL WORK GUARANTEED.

KOEPPEN & CO.,
423 CHESTNUT ST.

Dr. CLAUDE F. RAY,
...DENTIST...
MASONIC BUILDING, Opposite Court House Park.
PRICES ON APPLICATION.

CHAS. L. WUERDEMANN,
...BICYCLES...
Enameling, Nickel Plating, Lawn Mowers Sharpened, Bicycles Made to Order, Light Machinery Repairs.
REPAIRS, SUNDRIES.
1803 BROWN STREET, Corner 18th.

Guenzel Bros.,
Hatters,
Cor. Third & Harmon Streets,
Milwaukee, Wis.

For good reliable Shoes at Lowest Prices
Go to M. PEGANDE, 703 Muskego Avenue, Corner Mitchell Street, Kienh Block, Milwaukee, Wis.
UNION MAKE SHOES.

STAR THEATRE

Commencing Sunday Matinee—Twice Daily
Prices THE SEASON'S BIGGEST AND BEST ATTRACTION
10c 20c 30c
The New Blue Ribbon Girls
40 Clever Entertainers 40

THIRD ANNUAL MONSTER PICNIC

GIVEN BY THE
Social-Democratic Party,
TO BE HELD AT
Schlitz Park, Milwaukee, Sunday, July 17, 1904.
ADDRESSES, CONCERT AND GAMES.
GRAND BALL IN THE EVENING.
ADMISSION 10 CENTS. TO BALL 25 CENTS.

Second Annual Monster Picnic

GIVEN BY THE
Social-Democratic Party of Racine, Wis.
AT
CENTRAL PARK, KENOSHA COUNTY,
SUNDAY, JUNE 19th, 1904.
Music by Social-Democratic Band of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

This is the nicest place in Wisconsin for a picnic. It is located near the lake on the Milwaukee, Racine & Kenosha Street Car line and on the Northwestern Railroad. Comrade Gertrude Breslau Hunt of Chicago and others will speak. Dancing in the afternoon and evening. All comrades and friends are invited. For further information address N. F. NIELSEN, 929 Forest Street, Racine, Wis., Sec'y of Committee.

Satisfactory Clothes...

In Quality, Style and Price None Are More Satisfactory Than Ours....
Have a look at our line of Mens' Suits at \$10.00....
Also a fine Line of Clothing for Youths and Boys....

M. BENDER,

Mens' & Boys Clothing, Furnishings and Hats,
450 11th Ave., Cor. Scott.



Don't Fail to Visit the Store that has the Lowest Prices for the Best Quality....

Carpets, Window Shades, Wall Paper,

CARPET CLEANING, RENOVATING, REFITTING, WEAVING.
PAPER HANGING, CALCIMINING, PAINTING A SPECIALTY.

The Henry Thiele Company,

OFFICE, 527, 529 and 531 CHESTNUT STREET.
FACTORY, 346, 348, 350, 352 SIXTH STREET.

LET US BE YOUR TAILOR

TROUSERS, \$5.00 SUITS, \$20.00
FIT AND FINISH GUARANTEED
AUGUST ROHM & CO., TAILORS
We Cater to the Union.
284 West Water St.,
Cor. Cedar St.



Barrett's
A GOOD PLACE TO TRADE.
Barrett's

JOHN SCHUETZ,

The Leading Clothier and Merchant Tailor,
957-959 HOWELL AVE., Cor. Kinnickinnic.



Our stock of union-made spring suits, socks and latest style, is now complete. We carry the largest stock of union-made suits and men's furnishings in the city at popular prices.
NOTICE: If you want a first-class custom, UNION-MADE suit you can get it here as all our tailors are union men and we have adopted the Union Label.